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**CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM ARE RULES FOR THE
DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET SOCIETY. By LEONOV.**

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Detailed Summary of Major Points.

The struggle between opposites is a fundamental tenet of Marx's dialectical materialism, a law of nature and of social movements, and an efficacious feature of Soviet society.

The special characteristic of the relationships of production in a socialist society is the absence of exploitation and class opposition; there is only the unified purpose of cooperation and mutual self-help which is appropriate to the moral rule of society.

Among sovietized countries, not only class opposition but also inimical attitudes between peoples have been done away with; likewise the instigation of mutual contention and anti-foreignism.

The Bolshevik party, in its direction of the people's activities, encourages them to engage in creative work, to explore all possibilities of new and successful progressive movements and to realize these possibilities. It aims to strengthen the people's faith and confidence in new patterns of production, and to raise the prestige of the workers who devise the new patterns and processes. The Bolshevik party holds in high esteem self-initiative in creativeness by Soviet persons in the realm of such material and moral power as is of advantage to socialism and the strengthening of soviet socialist countries.

All the conditions for the development of soviet society collectively offer a favorable basis for the enlivening spread of new departures and for unlimited progress in economics and culture.

However, these progressive movements cannot and will not develop without the struggle of opposing the old and fostering the new. The inertia of the old must be overcome, otherwise there can be no progress. As Stalin has

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said, "...there is everywhere the struggle of that which is being born against the old and the dying; this is a basic characteristic of growth and progress."

Zhdanov has clearly pointed out that in the Soviets class conflict has been exterminated, and the struggle between the old and the new, the rise of the people from a lower to a higher status takes place, not through class conflicts as in capitalistic countries, but in an atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism. Such criticism is the real motive force of our developments; this is the powerful new tool in the hands of the party. Unquestionably, criticism is an activity new in form, pattern and dialectical principle."

In the Soviet system there are naturally not a few points where conflicts and inconsistencies occur. It is the duty of the leaders of the party and the government to foresee and forestall the development of such conflicts, as for example, the opposition to collective farms. Everything inimical to the growth of socialism must be uprooted, everything obstructive to the progress of communism must be swept from the path. The ^{instrument} ~~weapon~~ for revealing and overcoming these inconsistencies and causes of opposition is the Bolshevik method of criticism and self-criticism.

Criticism and self-criticism is an organized activity of the party and the government devised for the purpose of persuading and correcting the minds of the people. And not only this,--but also for influencing the backward, obstructionists, for counteracting self-satisfaction, self conceit and inertia. Stalin has said that if we do not have a way to point out our shortcomings and mistakes, our way will become blocked. But because we are determined to make progress, we should consider faithful self-criticism as an important personal obligation without which one cannot develop or make progress.

Criticism is now being employed by the party to develop self-initiative in creative activities in connection with the upbuilding of socialist economy and culture. The practice has already widely permeated the masses and armed them to cope with conservatism and unprogressivism, has raised the level of political intelligence, and helped them cultivate a consciousness of civic responsibility.

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Stalin's reply to the question, "What results are to be expected from the practice of criticism and self-criticism", mentions the following points.

1. Increased concern on the part of the working class with regard to short-comings, so that they may be the more easily remedied.
2. Elevation of the level of the working class's political education and of their sense of proprietorship of the country and facilitation of their control of national affairs.
3. Reformation and improvement of all phases of social reconstruction.
4. Accomplishment of increased and improved production.
5. Building up of communist morality through cultivating honest attitudes on the part of citizens; promotion of accuracy and system.
6. Kindling of the desire to correct one's short-comings and faults.

True science is absolutely against unchanging conservatism in thought, against the sacredness of static creedalism. The object of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism is to overcome this conservative ideology. This practice should result in displacing deeply entrenched and rigid conceptions when the latter do not fit actual conditions, and in replacing them by new, correct and reliable conceptions. Science is called science, as Stalin has said, because it does not admit idolatry, it does not fear to destroy old-fashioned and perishing things, and zealously obeys the voice of factual experience.

Marxism is highly creative and against the hardened theories of the creeds. Marx-Leninism is markedly active and mobile in its development of theories, and its theories are subject to correction and addition. Stalin reminds us that creedal Marxism should be distinguished from creative Marxism. He points out that creative Marxism insists on reforming and supplementing old forms in the light of new experience. Without fearless criticism and self-criticism, it is impossible to resolve the conflicts between old and new ideas and points of view. The scientific worker must not become the slave of traditions; when traditions constitute an obstacle to progress they should be courageously smashed.

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The most effective remedy for ideological conservatism and shortcomings is the Bolshevik type of criticism; it is the method tested in the victorious struggle for the establishment of all phases of socialism.

The best thing about the soviet socialist system is that it has made the laborer master of his fate; for the first time in history it has raised the toiler to unprecedented heights.

Criticism usually has from 5 percent to 10 percent of truth in it; this should be welcomed and given careful consideration. To be valuable it must be serious, well-founded and not superficial.

Criticism greatly strengthens the Soviets, but it is a force that weakens the foundations of the capitalistic system which fears the light of criticism. The propertied class is afraid to criticize the inconsistencies of capitalism. Lenin has said, "..... if free honest criticism were permitted, the whole property system would collapse. The propertied class uses all possible methods to suppress criticism by the masses. Occasionally, in order to deceive the people, their own loyal tools are allowed to utter criticisms within pre-determined limits. Some bourgeois thinkers use criticism of the existing order to strengthen and defend their country's capitalistic system and imperialist policies, not to shake or improve them. The only purpose of the criticisms of pseudo-socialists and their fellow-travellers is to indoctrinate the people with the determination not to disturb the capitalists's rights. It seeks to dope people's discernment, to convert labor into protagonists.

Under the capitalist system, the only kind of criticism that can truly be called criticism is that which has for its objective the overthrow of capitalism. The Communist Party is now engaged in the truly revolutionary criticism of the evils of bourgeois society. Marxism was the first to link up the weapon of criticism of capitalism with the uncompromising, unceasing revolutionary struggle of the masses.

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